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585 On the day fixed for the *ákit*, the relatives of the girl come together
263 at the latter's house, where a large amount of native sweets has been prepared for the purpose. These sweets are of different kinds:

The *sinandilá: dékat* rice pounded into powder and cooked with coconut oil, coconut milk and salt or sugar, in a shape like that of our ordinary pancakes;

The *binaladdibád* or *ininapát*, as explained previously;

The *linaxókog: dékat* rice pounded into powder, salted and cooked in lard, with neither sugar nor coconut products added to it; these cakes have more or less the form of our doughnuts, except that they are very flat; their diameter is usually from two to three inches, and there is a round hole in the center;

The *pinatará-: dékat* rice pounded into powder and cooked, after which it is cut into strips; in the meanwhile coconut milk is cooked in some other receptacle, and when the latter is boiling, first salt and then the *dékat* strips are added to it. The *pinatará-* take all kinds of shapes, but in general they are long and narrow, and look more or less like sections of a candle.

585 When everything is ready, the women take charge of the baskets
583 (*la-bá*) full of cakes, and one or more men carry a pig, which is called the *bálat* (revenge, taking turns, etc.) on this occasion. All these are so-called presents that will be distributed to the relatives of the groom by those of the bride. Then the whole procession, in which the *mańlakkát* plays the most conspicuous rôle, proceeds on its way to the boy's house; this may be done in the daytime as well as in the evening: no special time is set for the ceremony. It should be noted once for all that, if the groom is a married man and has a house of his own, all ceremonies connected with the *ákit* and the ensuing *lablabág* are conducted at his own house, and not at that of his parents.

585 And now as to the *mańlakkát*. This is always a young girl as yet
292 unmarried, and she is not allowed to wear any other body garment but the tapis or *akén*, and probably the *talút* or G-string, which after all remains invisible. A *saríkaw* hat, like the one worn by a woman after her delivery when she goes to take her first bath, completes her attire. Out of modesty, however, the *mańlakkát* does not wear her tapis in the customary way, that is, from the waist down, but she passes it over her breasts, so that the latter are covered, with the obvious result that her thighs are partially uncovered, as the lower end of the tapis barely reaches half-way down between the buttocks

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and the knees. Consequently the *mañlakkát* wears neither *badiyó* (jacket) nor *baxákat* (girdle), and the *laddóñ* or headband has been replaced by the *sarikaw*, so that her hair hangs loose down her back. All this is done, according to the Isneg, lest the bride experience difficulty in giving birth to her children; the loose attire of the *mañlakkát* is supposed to have a magical influence on the deliveries of the future mother, so that they be accomplished with the utmost ease.

In some places the *mañlakkát* carries the bride on her back, not on her hip, all the way from the latter's house to that of the groom. Nevertheless if the distance is too great, she only carries the girl down the ladder of the house, and then puts her down, not to take her up again until they arrive at the boy's house, where she carries her up the ladder. When mounting the ladder, the *mañlakkát* has to skip one of the rungs, all the while carrying her burden. In most places she contents herself with carrying the bride up the ladder of the groom's house, skipping one of the rungs as usual. According to the Isneg, the reason of this action is the same as that given for the looseness of the *mañlakkát*'s apparel. In Kankanay folklore one occasionally hears a husband invite his wife, who experiences difficulty in giving birth to her child, to climb his back. In other places, however, at least at present, the *mañlakkát* merely escorts the bride, without carrying her even for a single moment; but her attire always remains the same scanty outfit just referred to, and she never carries any of the baskets filled with sweets.

This custom of carrying the bride all the way through is very generally observed at Bayag (G branch of *O* dialect), while at Baliwanan and Dangla (Main branch of *O* dialect), and at Musimut (K branch of *O* dialect), she is merely carried up the ladder of the boy's house. The latter eventuality is remembered by the Isneg to have happened once at Alumani (near Kabugaw; Main branch). This does not obtain, at least in every case, at Kumaw and Bolo (Main branch), at Abbil and Dibagat (G branch), and at Talifugu (*Bó* dialect).

As soon as the procession arrives at the house of the groom, where in the meanwhile the latter's relatives and many other people invited as guests have been gathering, a few important ceremonies take place. If some members of the girl's party are living near the house of the boy, and in this case only, they *magtaluñáb*, which means that they stop before the ladder of the house and forbid the bride to enter until the boy's parents have given them a present, which usually consists of a *xúsi* jar or of a few beads. After that the bride is

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allowed to mount the ladder, either by herself or on the back of the *maúlakkát*.

Once inside she has to go immediately toward the place where a *balandán* blanket, the property of the boy's parents, has been spread on the floor, and to sit down upon it. The *balandán* consists of three rectangular pieces of cloth, sewn together at the sides, not at the edges; the two sutures are provided with large ornamental stitches of purple thread. The bride, however, is not to stay there very long, as she has barely squatted down on the *balandán* when her mother pulls it away from under her, and takes possession of the same. Here also the *maúlakkát* dons her customary attire, — jacket, headband and the rest, — as her rôle is finished by this time.

The parents of the boy usually prepare a banquet for all present; chickens or pigs and dogs are slaughtered, according to the social standing of the owners of the house, but, as previously noted, no shaman performs the *maxanito*. Should the *bálat* be killed on this occasion, which is not absolutely necessary, as the boy's parents may prefer to keep it alive, neither bride nor groom, nor any of the girl's relatives, is allowed to partake of it. If any of them should infringe this taboo and eat the meat of the *bálat* pig, his or her children, whether born already or to be born in the future, would die a certain death. The same prohibition obtains with reference to the cakes. It is certainly a great sacrifice for an Isneg not to partake of a meal of pork and rice, and only the fear of some dire punishment such as that of death for his children could effectively check his appetite in that direction. But in nearly all cases the boy's parents slaughter some other animal, which all present are allowed to partake. It goes without saying that a copious flow of *básí* keeps the whole company in merriment, otherwise you could not very well call it a marriage feast.

The principal ceremony, however, consists in the distribution of gifts, of which there are two classes:

1. The *ákit* (from which the whole marriage ceremony takes its name, *maúakit:* to perform a marriage ceremony): these are gifts of beads, clothes, etc., offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders to the women of the girl's party in exchange for a certain amount of cakes, or some part of the *bálat*, in case the latter is slaughtered.

2. The *tugnúl:* gifts of spears, headaxes, *zúsi* jars, etc., also offered by the boy's relatives and outsiders, but this time to the men of the girl's party, again in exchange for cakes or portions of the *bálat*.

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811 *Kútaw*'s boat, which is always fastened at the *dodóńān* (place on
772 the bank of a river where a boat is fastened, landing place) on this
side of the pond when not in use, has only one *pidpíd* or side plank,
776 which means that one side of the boat is open and unprotected, and nevertheless no water ever enters her and she never goes down. Thus the *kaduduwá* is ferried over the water in a boat that consists of only about one half of an ordinary one, a boat cut in two from stem to stern. When asked how anybody could possibly cross the *lablabbáń* in such a contrivance, the Isneg merely state that they do not know. And in this they are most certainly right. But who would dare say that the actions of the spirits have to correspond exactly with our own? Their ways are not our ways, and that settles the matter. Besides, the *lablabbáń* is not an ordinary *labbáń*, neither are *Kútaw* and the *kaduduwá* ordinary men, so why should the boat be an ordinary one?

772 The only other detail I have heard about the *lablabbáń* is that it is full of cogon grass (*tabbáń*) and of worms.

776 *Kútaw* himself was once described to me as wearing a coat from which a certain portion of cloth had been torn out entirely, and his
292 headax or *aliwá* as being deprived of one of its essential parts, namely
411 the *sáwit* or blunt projection at the back (cf. CAC–P, 1:233, fig. 68).

Once at the other side, the *kaduduwá* live a happy life in the *Aglalannawán* (called *Tagtaggáyan* at Bayag) or realm of the dead:
775 it is good (*napiyá*) to be there. Their life is comparable to a dream: they live in the same way as we do when we are dreaming. For the rest, they do not change in their ways: they plant and reap as before, have the same likes and dislikes, live on the same kind of food, with none of their old preferences gone, and so on. The house they live in, however, is not made of timber or bamboo: it is a real gold or silver one. There they stay and never come back, except at times
775 and temporarily,—for instance, when they come to get one of their
787 relatives, in which case the latter is *makaduduwá*, becomes sick and dies (such *kaduduwá* are called *gíbu-*), or when they enter the body of a shaman in order to communicate with the living, or even appear to the latter (perhaps only to the shaman), at the time of a *sáy-ám* sacrifice, etc.

775 It seems to result from all this that even the Isneg have a kind of double fate for man after death: one of happiness for those who prove acceptable to *Kútaw*, and one of privation for those who have to remain behind or are left unguided at the entrance to the *Aglalan-*

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764 When the first outburst of lamentations, in the case of our dead
292 Isneg, has come to an end, the bystanders at once proceed to the preparation of the *innát* or corpse. The latter is first stripped of its old clothes, and carefully washed and cleaned; after that it is wiped dry and finally dressed up in the best clothes available. Some natives do not even shrink from clothing the corpse in silk, if their means allow such luxury; at any rate, it would be utterly shameful to the Isneg not to dress a dead body decently. This latter performance is called *magpaar-armát* (transitive: *paarmattán;* from the stem *armát*, "garments"). As has been stated before, each garment is partially torn (*maxáyxáy*) at one side.

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844
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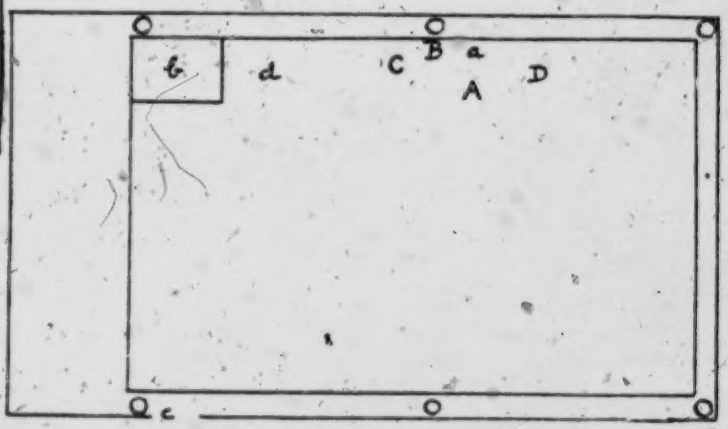

FIG. 3. FLOOR OF AN ISNEG HOUSE

A, Place of bier; a, place of the head of the *innát*; B, place of the *innát* in sitting posture; C, place of the *aróbon;* D, place of mourning relatives; b, hearth; c, door; d, place of woman in childbed.

764 In some places they insert a few *libnó* herbs in the clothes of the
775 *innát* for the following reason: on its way to the realm of the dead, the *kadudwá* is supposed to pass through a camote or sweet-potato
772 field, in which there is a hut inhabited by an old woman, who is intent on taking away from all passers-by their provisions and all their belongings; but if the latter have *libnó*-herbs about their person, the old woman is powerless and they pass along unscathed.

764 In the meanwhile some others have been preparing the *tádag* or bier. The *tádag* consists of a certain number of entire bamboos, tied

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together side by side in three places, at both ends and in the middle; it corresponds exactly to an ordinary raft or *zákit*, except of course that it is much shorter. 764

The *tádag* is then laid down near the middle post of one of the longer sides of the house, namely the one opposite to the door (fig. 3), and the body is stretched out upon it at full length, with its head near the wall, arms crossed over the chest, hands flat and fingers extended. In this position the *innát* has the place of the hearth to one side, but it is comparatively far away from it, as between this and the *tádag* is a certain space, that is usually reserved for women after childbirth; the middle post just referred to is kept immediately at the side of the head of the deceased, between the latter and the hearth. The *innát*'s pillow consists of the garments of which the deceased has just been stripped, jacket and G-string or tapis, etc.; they are rolled up into a bundle and placed under the head of the dead person. The latter's eyes have been closed; but the mouth may remain open: the lower jaw is never bound up.

After this a few pinnae of a young coconut leaf (*palátań*) are twisted and formed into a kind of crown, which is placed over the head of the deceased. This crown, which the Isneg call *sinazíkaw*, is never absent. Then the whole body is covered with a fine new blanket, which leaves only the crowned head visible. [824] [292]

If the deceased is a married man, his surviving wife cuts off her tresses at the height of the shoulders (*maggańád*), and these are tied to the head of the *innát* and arranged in such a way as to form one with his own hair. [302]

It should be noted once for all that all ceremonies and observances connected with death and burial are the same for men and women, for adults and children, for shamans and ordinary mortals, except for an occasional detail that will be recorded at the proper place. 766

In some special cases the *innát* is kept in a sitting or squatting posture, this time immediately in front of the central post and facing the door. It is kept sitting on a small bench, with head and waist tied to the post just referred to, and hands resting on the thighs; there is no question of course of any *tádag* or bier.

At other places, as at Bayag, some corpses are kept squatting in a jar, always at the customary place. A large *zúsi* jar (earthenware imported from China), a *tadóxan* in the case of an adult, a *dordori* in the case of a child, both very precious to the Isneg, is cut into two almost equal parts, and the body is placed in a squatting position

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765 Widows and widowers are not allowed to take a bath as long as
515 they have to wear their mourning apparel, and, in some settlements, for instance at Karagawan, they are not even allowed to cross a stream.

765 It goes without saying that many of the taboos described above are nothing but signs of mourning; nevertheless there are other tokens that are more clearly and exclusively (at least in our own eyes) distinctive characteristics of the sorrow that affects man when he suffers some bereavement.

And first as to mourning apparel.

765 As soon as the body is interred, the nearest relative or relatives
●292 don their mourning apparel, they *magwáis*. Widows and widowers are of course obliged to do so by custom; for the others, everything depends on their esteem for the deceased. At the death of some persons a whole lot of people wear mourning, while others are barely mourned by a single relative. At any rate, mourning apparel (*kolmót* or *pusá-*; the term *kolmót* more especially refers to men's mourning apparel, while *pusá-* is almost exclusively used for women's mourning apparel; *napusá-* also means "white") once put on has to be worn all the time until the *obóbāt*. In Apayaw the color is white, and nice clothes are taboo. All mourners, men and women alike, wear a white headband (*ábal*; pronounced *kábal* at Bolo), which consists in an *inarosó* at Bolo; *arinosó* at Bayag; *rinosó* at Dangla), a comparatively narrow strip of bark, mostly taken from the *taudáw* tree and especially prepared for the purpose. If the persons in question also abstain from rice and taro (*maŋgabí*), they wear, besides the headband just mentioned, a kind of neckcloth, which is just a second *inarosó*, worn around the neck and left loose in front.

765 For many days after the burial of a near relative, the mourners
201 go every morning to weep at the tomb of their loved one, be it a husband or wife, a father or mother, or a much beloved child, brother or sister. After *Mámaw*'s husband had been buried at Nagbabalayan (beginning of 1926), the widow could be seen every morning, carrying her babe and accompanied by her grown-up son, silently directing her steps toward the graveyard. Once there both the widow and her son would squat down in the immediate proximity of the tomb and weep unceasingly for a considerable period of time, low murmurings and subdued sobs being the only audible manifestations of their grief. While doing so, they usually rested the right elbow on the right knee and extended the right hand over the eyebrows touching the fore-

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The *tŏsi, katŏsit* or *antŏsit* (Bixa orellana, L.), achiote or annatto tree. The seeds are used for condiments.

The *kapé* (from the Spanish *café*), coffee. The plants known in commerce as *robusta* are much more frequently cultivated in Apayaw than the *arabica*: this points to a comparatively recent introduction.

The *kakáw* (from the Spanish *cacao*), (Theobroma cacoa, L.), cacao or chocolate tree.

Palms and bamboos

The *bowá* (Arecga catechu, L.), betel palm or areca palm.

The *lítag*, wild betel palm, occasionally cultivated.

The *alimmuxáyan*, a variety of betel palm with very small nuts.

The *lañpá* or *labíd* (Livistona rotundifolia, Mart.), a kind of fan palm whose leaves are used for raincoats, thatch, etc. Its fruits are called *kŭlébañ* or *kulalbáñ*.

The *kawáyan* (Bambusa blumeana, Schultes. f.), the ordinary spiny bamboo.

The *pasíñan*: A kind of spiny bamboo whose walls are lined with a membrane. It is used in basketwork, in the building of huts, in traps for catching wild boars, etc.

The *pa-lí*: A kind of slender spiny bamboo, mostly used in basketwork.

The *bólo* (Schizostachyum mucronatum, Mack.), the ordinary unarmed bamboo. Occasionally cultivated.

Cultivated for their perfume

The *alañízan* (Canangium odoratum [Lam.] Baill.), ylang-ylang.

The *bañíáw*: A shrub with round brown fruits. Its leaves are used for perfume.

The *sapitán* (Andropogon citratus, DC.), lemon grass. Sometimes planted in the *kŏmán* (rice field).

Cultivated for ornamental purposes

The *sarawénes* or *barawénes* (not genuine Isneg), (Delonix regia [Boj.] Ral.), peacock flower, flame tree or flamboyant.

The *lăyañá* or *ăyañá* (Hibiscus rosa-sinensis, L.), China rose or shoeblack plant.

The *malmalókoñ* (Northopanax cochleatum [Lam.] Miq.), saucer-leaf.

The *dunámariyá* (from the Spanish *Doña María*, "Lady Mary"),

000 to be quite a differenc in their customs and dialects.
197 Along the length of the Apayao River there are three
162 separate groups. They can understand each other about the way that a Spaniard understands an Italian.

DRESS

291 The ordinary dress of the people is simple. The
[302] men wear breechcloths or G-strings, *abag*. They keep their hair long and coil it on the head. It is confined with a length of cloth wrapped turban fashion.
[304] The hands and wrists are tattooed in the boat pattern.
[142] The teeth are blackened. Each man has a small, de-
[276] corated bag, *bulsa*, in which he keeps his betel nut,
[293] *buyo*, lime bottle, tobacco, flint, tinder, and other small belongings. This is tucked, either into the G-string or in a belt woven of rattan. The woman, when about
30] her work, wears only a tapis. She has a necklace of
523 ancestral beads, shaped from chalcedony, silver and carved amulet bones. There are also patterned porcelain beads in the string. Many of these were obtained from the Chinese when they were active traders here some five centuries ago. Gold does not appear
[304] to be used. The woman has boat-pattern tattoo marks
[291] on the back of her hands as an aid to beauty. The
[854] small children make their skins do as clothing. Babies are carried about by the mothers in slings passed over one shoulder.

292 When all dressed up and ready to go to a party,
301 the woman wears a dark tapis, *aquen;* a cloth girdle, *bajacat;* a short-waisted, long-sleeved, black, pull-on shirt, *badiyo*, all characteristically embroidered in red; a head cloth with spangles, *laddong* and *saban*, topped

292

Apayao girl in gala dress.

292

Profile view of same girl.

with a row of feathers; a head band of small beads, *sajaban;* earrings, *lubay;* a necklace of larger beads, *ambusao;* red spangles hanging from back of the head, *bajuoyboy;* red spangles hanging on forehead, *pati;* small anklet beads, *pasag;* a bead wrist band, *sinali,* and a silver ring, *sankilat.* Her lips are made red with betel nut, *ma-ma,* and she makes a charming picture. The man also has a striking appearance, being dressed in his breechcloth or G-string, *abag;* red-embroidered black pull-on shirt, *baddo;* bag, *pulsa;* neckband with a handsome shell breast-piece, *bising;* and an ornamented head dress formed of red and blue cloth entwined in a turban, *linijot.* This is topped with odorous leaves.

The people have no knowledge of weaving or pottery making. They obtain their clothing, pots, salt, and other materials from Ilocano traders in exchange for their honey, beeswax, rope, baskets and mats.

FAMILY LIFE AND OCCUPATIONS

The people live in substantially constructed houses which have artistic lines. The usual size is about 20 x 34 feet. In building a house, the four long, sturdy corner posts and two central side posts are first set in the ground. They are shaped from some very hard and durable timber such as *molave* or *ipil.* On these posts the structure is framed with heavy, hand-hewn lumber. The timbers are so neatly hewn with miter, bead, feather, and tongue joints that they do not require further fastening. The roof is finished first. Three heavy, well-braced trusses rest on the posts. Their bearing, or upper sides are hewn into an outward bow which will shape the roof in an equilateral

292

An old warrior in his regalia dress.